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SOVIET, CUBA CHARGES HEARD

More civil, military aid asked from UN to end Congo crisis

By Kumar Goshal

IN THE UN Security Council three potentially explosive issues boiled up during the crowded week of July 18:

- Cuba accused the U.S. of threats, intrigues, harassments and economic aggression and urged "necessary measures" of restraint.
- UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold called for far more UN activity in the Congo crisis, which he said had brought all Africa to "the turn of the road."
- Moscow sought UN condemnation of U.S. "aggression" in the case of the RB-47 reconnaissance plane brought down on July 1 by a Soviet fighter plane.

CUBA'S CHARGE: Cuban Foreign Minister Raul Roa told the Security Council that the U.S. has sheltered "war criminals, fugitives from Cuban justice [and] traitors to the revolution," and attempted to draw Cuba into the Cold War by calling it "a Soviet satellite" in order "to isolate and destroy the Cuban revolution, as was done in Guatemala in 1954, by inventing the same false story."

Roa asked: "Is it necessary in order to preserve hemispheric unity . . . to lower one's head like a submissive bull to the butcher in the abattoir?" Referring to the sugar quota cut, he said: "Better honor without quota than quota without honor." He added: "The destiny of my country is today the destiny of all the underdeveloped peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Cuba is not alone." Roa requested the Security Council "to adopt the necessary measures in keeping with the nature of the questions" he had raised.

U.S. chief delegate Henry Cabot Lodge denied Cuba's charges and deplored such language as "butcher" and "aggressor" about the U.S. Roa retorted that he did not like his country being called "a lackey of international communism." Lodge contended that Washington's cut in Cuba's sugar quota was not "reprisal" but was prompted by doubt about Cuba's ability to fulfill its quota.

OTHER VOICES: Latin American authority Carleton Beals in the **Nation** (July 23,) however, called the new U.S. sugar bill authorizing the President to cut Cuba's sugar quota a "punitive sugar law." In another article in the same issue Washington newsman Stanley Meisler reported that there was opposition to the bill in both the House and the Senate. He said that Rep. Harold Cooley (D-N.C.), for instance, contended that reducing Cuba's quota "in reprisal against Castro constituted overt economic aggression against Cuba."

But Meisler reported that, when Rep. William Miller (R-N.Y.) told his colleagues they were either for Castro or against him and defined the battle as one between pro-Castro Democrats and anti-Castro Republicans, "Cooley had to retreat or face a charge of refusing to support his President in the struggle against international communism." In the Senate Everett Dirksen (R-Ill.) kept his colleagues in line by warning that the President "is quite insistent that he have a weapon with which to deal with the situation before Congress goes home."

The Security Council finally referred Cuba's charges to the Organization of American States by a 9-0 vote, with the Soviet Union and Poland abstaining. But the debate was only "adjourned" pending a report to the Council from the OAS.

THE CONGO ISSUE: For the moment, the Congo-Belgium conflict was the gravest threat to peace before the UN. Belgian troops still refused to withdraw until they were "convinced the Europeans were secure;" pro-Belgian Congolese leader Moise Tshombe of mineral-rich Katanga province demanded recognition of Katanga's independence and threatened "war" if UN forces attempted to enter Katanga; the central government of Premier Patrice Lumumba suffered from an acute shortage of food and medicine and of trained medical, technical and administrative personnel.

Hammarskjold told the Security Council on July 20 that UN forces in the Congo would be large enough by July 23 to maintain order and security and asked for "clarification of my mandate" on Belgian troop withdrawal which, he had stressed earlier, was imperative for peace in the Congo. He asserted without "any hesitation" that the UN considered Katanga as an integral part of the Congo.

He reported that various UN branches

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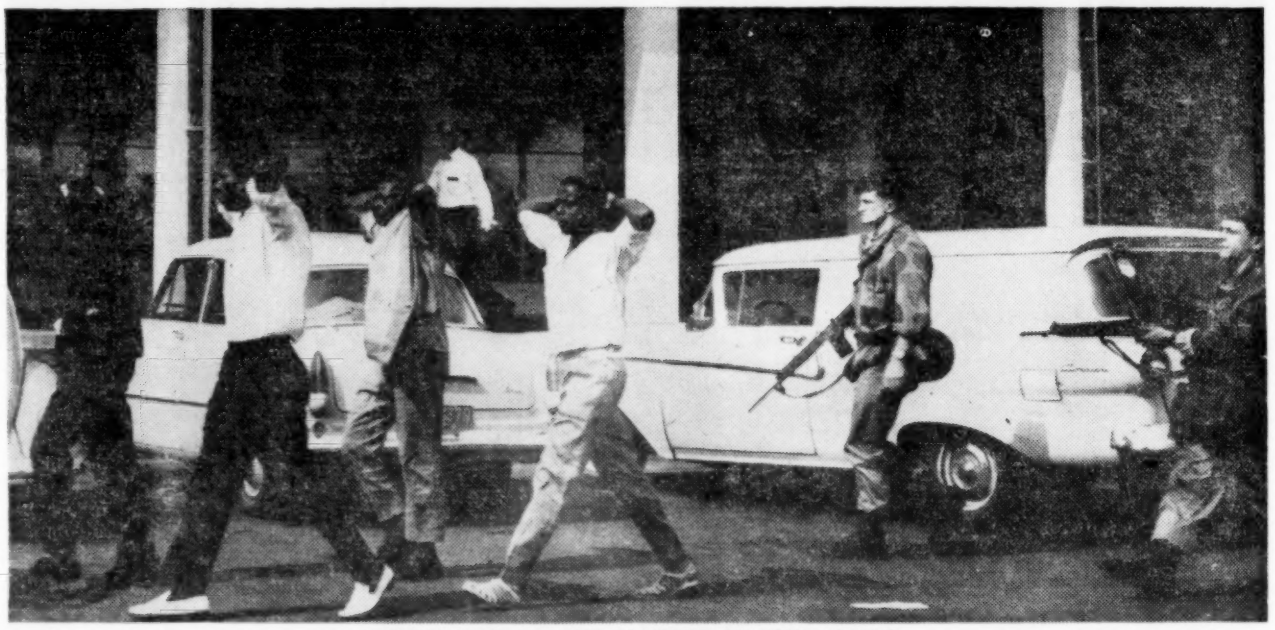

THE HEART OF THE MATTER IN THE CONGO
"Independent" Congolese are herded through Leopoldville at gun-point by Belgian paratroopers

AT THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

Nixon's one-ring circus has two side shows

By Russ Nixon
Guardian staff correspondent
CHICAGO

VICE PRESIDENT NIXON was the master of the one-ring-circus Republican Convention that opened here July 25. Two side shows run by Sen. Barry Goldwater of Arizona and Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York provided the only color in the dull preliminaries.

The Washington Post
"Come on, come on—hurry it up."

Even behind the scenes of the routine platform hearings the only questions were whether to match the strong Democratic plank on civil rights and how to angle the Republican policy statement to appease Gov. Rockefeller and thus have a chance of winning New York's crucial 45 electoral votes. The civil rights issue was headed for a fight on the floor.

The convention got under way with as much life as one would expect from a combined conclave of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers, the American Medical Assn., and the Committee for Constitutional Government. Labor representatives, the ADA and other liberal group leaders were present only for fleeting token presentations to the platform committee.

RIGHT-WING PRESSURE: The biggest rumpus was kicked up by Sen. Goldwater and his ultra-conservative followers who have adopted him as their idol replacing the late Sen. McCarthy. They pushed him for both President and Vice President, but their main aim was to bring extreme conservative pressure on Vice President Nixon and the platform committee as a counter to the "subversive" influence of Rockefeller.

Goldwater is opposed to the income tax, the minimum wage and hour law and social security, against any farm price supports, labor unions, and reciprocal trade. He would eliminate Federal action on civil rights and champions all the repressive legislation and witch-hunting of McCarthyism.

On foreign policy Goldwater opposes all relations with the Soviet Union, would break diplomatic ties with the socialist world, and, with only thin disguise, favors a preventive war. He told an applauding platform committee that "the Republican Party must determinedly maintain the most powerful military power in the world and must be willing to use this military power—and our economic power—to defend the rights of American citizens and to preserve American property."

NO FLUKE: All the old rightist groups are active for Goldwater, and new ones are being created for his support. Included are Pro-America, the Defenders of the Constitution, Wake-Up America, We the People, the Anti-Fluoridation League, Northern Illinois Conservatives, Inc., etc. His active backers include Mayor J. Bracken Lee of Salt Lake City, Merwin K. Hart, Clarence Manion, Dr. Lee de Forest, Adolphe Menjou, Archibald Roosevelt, ex-Congressman Ralph Gwinn, industrialists V. Kohler and Walter Harnischfeger of Wisconsin, Generals G. E. Stratemeyer, Albert C. Wedemeyer and Bonner Feller, and Admiral Ben Moreell.

A special "Youth for Goldwater" committee has been set up, claiming chapters in 45 universities and colleges. A new organization, "Americans for Goldwater," was formally launched July 7 to work during the Republican convention and continue permanently thereafter "to promote the principles of Constitutional government which he espouses."

Lest Sen. Goldwater be considered a fluke in the GOP structure it should be noted that he is chairman of the Republican Senate Campaign Committee. The platform committee gave him an unusually rousing reception. Thomas O'Neil of the Baltimore **Sun** wrote (July 22): "A major objection among the party managers against throwing the Vice

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THE MAIL BAG

For Rose Sobell

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A group of Rose Sobell's friends are having a birthday party for her in Rockaway on Aug. 6. We know that there are many of her friends all over the country who love her as much as we do, and who want to tell her so. If you can't come to her party, send her a present and your warmest greetings.

We know that you don't have to be told that the best gift that you can send to this proud mother of a wonderful and courageous son is money to work for his freedom.

Please send your greetings and gifts to me. Checks can be made out to me, or to Rose Sobell directly. I'll be glad to send you your invitation to the party too. We know that there will be tears in Rose's eyes when she hears from you, but they will be tears of happiness, not hurt.

Margaret Blau
924 Broadway, Room D
New York City 10, N.Y.

The after-life of F.L.H.

SEBRING, FLA.

I had to laff when I read the letter of F.L.H. about his friend dying and reviving and the failure of his soul to go anywheres during the minutes he was dead.

I'm in my 83rd year and I made that discovery 60 years ago. You tell F.L.H. to give me his name and address, and I'll give him free of charge some information on these things that will make him jump higher than Kilroy's kite.

George R. Clements
P.O. Box 366

●

LONG ISLAND CITY, N.Y.

To F.L.H. (whose friend died for 2 minutes):

My smile for that day came from your letter.

Instead of suing the church, he should sue the anesthetist who drugged his soul into such a stupor that it was unable to leave his body and go to heaven.

Arthur Krieger

●

MANNINGTON, W. VA.

The doctrine of the immortality of the soul is of pagan origin and goes along with that of eternal torment, also of pagan origin and likewise fake.

Sherwin Toothman

●

WHEATON, ILL.

My advice to F.L.H. and all others is to read the Bible for themselves and not take the word of some one else who only knows what some one else has told him.

Psalms 146:4 tells us: "His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day his thoughts perish."

Esther M. Winters

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

WASHINGTON, July 23—The chairman of a House subcommittee investigating the withholding of information by the Executive Branch said today that the Pentagon stamped "secret" on enough peacetime documents each week to pile up a tower higher than the Empire State building.

One of these secret documents, it was charged, contained a disclosure that "water runs downhill."

—New York **Times**, July 24

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M.D., New York City

L'Envoi

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Fortune telling's against the law
You can't tell a man what he's living for.

If you spin a yarn way over his head
And tell what will happen after he's dead;

No license or permit for this you require,
Go just as far as you may desire.
But listen—and this is last but not least:
Be sure to call yourself a priest.

Veni Vidi

Stamwitz, Steel Labor

"Gentlemen, we're facing a business crisis. Our profits have returned to normal!"

Barnyard alert

MORA, MINN.

The United States is slowly but surely setting up a police state comparable to Hitler's in Germany, and doing it in the guise of civil defense. Minnesota is one of the four states in which the system is being tried out.

We attended a Farmer's Union meeting where the main speaker was a civil defense teacher. He showed slides of bomb shelters and the destruction caused by the atom bomb blasts in Japan. Also, he explained bomb shelter plans for farmers and their stock—a bomb-proof barn for the animals and a shelter in the basement for humans.

When the alarm is given, from 15 minutes to three hours ahead, the farmer would get his stock into the barn, take shelter in his basement and all stay there for two weeks. What the man didn't explain was how the stock would be fed and watered during the two weeks. Every farmer knows he would not need to go to the barn after two weeks, as the animals would be dead.

This gentleman also wanted to start a class of 30 people on civil defense, so they would be trained to know what to do in case of bombs, torpedoes, floods and also to hold back crowds and stop riots. This sounds very much like a police state, as no one would be free to protest what the government was doing.

The sheriff was with the civil defense man. I asked "Why does not our government work as hard for peace as it does for war?" I was told that it does, with civil defense and bomb shelters. One man said I was a Communist and should go to Russia, because I asked such a question.

Martha L. Thelen

What women need

BRONX, N.Y.

Women from 73 countries and territories, representing diverse organizations, national and international, met this spring in Copenhagen where, 50 years ago, delegates from several countries decided to celebrate, every year, International Women's Day.

As one of the American delegates to the Conference who heard the accounts of the remarkable achievements in many countries, I suddenly realized that I had come from the richest country in the world, where 22,000,000 women are working, and where there is no legislation advancing the welfare of the working women and their families.

Appropriate legislation would establish clinics, creches, kindergartens, nursery schools, etc., and release women from the financial burden of illness, medical and financial care (with full pay) during the pre-natal (2 months) and post- natal (2 months) periods. Effective social legislation would establish the right to family allowances for each child and free medical care and drugs, build homes on a mass scale suited to modest incomes and provide in large housing schemes for social and cultural services to fulfill the desires of the women and the family.

Country after country, whose economies and resources do not approach ours, reported these achievements and are ever moving onward in these fields.

We are fast approaching elections for national and other offices. Efforts should be made to introduce such objectives into the campaigns of all parties.

Bella Altshuler

Vancouver on the march

NORTH VANCOUVER, B.C.

Last June, for the first time since the Thirties, the unemployed marched here in Vancouver. I marched with them on behalf of my union, Local 16-601 of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, of which I am secretary.

The feeling is growing in the labor movement up here that we should break off such a close alliance with the American labor movement at least until the American workers dump the likes of Meany and his kind. When the **AFL-CIO News** comes into our union office it is read with amazement and shock.

A provincial election is in the offing; the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is being supported by the labor movement and should they form the next government, it would be a victory for the working class (provided enough left-wingers get elected).

J. L. LeBourdais

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

THE ENTIRE SOCIAL, political and economic structure of the Republic of (South) Korea is wrong. It is not a democracy. Rather it was a complete, full police state.

I can tell you honestly and truthfully that corruption and graft were everyday occurrences from top to bottom. The police department operated on it. The army operated on it. The ministries operated on it. The government of Korea was systematically looting the Republic of Korea.

I took the position that I would not stay in Korea further and lend the good name of the American labor movement to anything as corrupt as that which existed. I think the public is entitled to know what the boys are dying for over there. That they are dying for the rotten Rhee government; that something should be changed.

—From a Portland, Ore., radio interview with Stanley Earl, a former state CIO official recently returned from South Korea after service there as a Marshall Plan labor advisor, as published in the National Guardian, Aug. 2, 1950.

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-exile* — JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* — JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

EDITORIAL STAFF: Lawrence Emery, Kumar Goshal, Robert E. Light, Dorothy Miller, Russ Nixon (Washington), Tabitha Petran, Robert Joyce (Art), David Reif (Art Library). LIBRARIAN: Jean Norrington. CIRCULATION: George Evans. PROMOTION: Norval D. Welch. ADVERTISING and BUYING SERVICE: Lillian Kolt. GUARDIAN EVENTS: Theodora Peck. FOREIGN BUREAUS: Cedric Belfrage (London), Anne Bauer (Paris), George Wheeler (Prague), W. G. Burchett (Moscow), Anna Louise Strong (Peking), Narendra Goyal (New Delhi), Ursula Wassermann (roving correspondent). NORTHERN CALIFORNIA representative: Clarence Vickland, 3936 Canon Ave., Oakland 2, Calif. Phone: KE 3-7776. DETROIT representative: Ben Kocel, 140 Winona, Highland Park 3, Mich. Phone: TO 6-7523.

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REPORT TO READERS

The mail that cheers

SUDDENLY THIS SUMMER—as has happened so frequently in our paper's lifetime—we found ourselves heading for financial shoals and had to call on our readers for help.

Summer or winter, the response was one of the readiest and most generous we have ever received, so much so that it will never be possible to print more than a sampling of the good wishes, expressions of concern and promises of further help which we have received in the two months since our appeals went out.

The biggest single response, by many fold, came with the following message:

"During the past winter I made a new will. In it, I made a bequest to the GUARDIAN of $1,000. Now I should like to send it to you at once, if you will agree with my proposition. At present I am receiving interest of 4%, or $40 a year on this sum. You will never be asked to return the principal, only to send the interest until my death. I am 87 years old.

"This bestowal of a 'legacy from the living' will not interfere in any way with my monthly 'Buck of the Month' contribution."

How else could our corporate soul respond to such a gift, except to say "Blessings, and long life!"

WHAT BETTER WAY to celebrate the Fourth of July, said a Los Angeles letter, than to make a contribution, "even if it is only a token one, to the one independent newspaper I can count on for honest reports of world events." A high school boy in Michel, B.C., wrote manfully that if the existence of the GUARDIAN is in any way impaired "I will do all in my power to come to its rescue." And from North Vancouver, another Canadian wrote: "I generally quote from your articles when I write to our Prime Minister."

From Chicago Peggy L. wrote that she really couldn't start the day without her GUARDIAN at hand, and illustrated the sentiment with such elan that we made a line-cut of it for everyone's enjoyment. And from Englewood, Fla., Max Berndt-Cohn expressed appreciation for our "expertness as journalists" and complimented us on our absolute absence of typographical errors.

"Your headlines are vital," he wrote, "your photographs telling, your caricatures pointed . . . All of this is most important. Form and content are no more separable than space and time."

WE GOT SOME KNOCKS, too, along with the boosts. Here was what J. Parkhurst Douglass wrote from Tonasket, Wash.:

"The writer took subs for the **Appeal to Reason** in 1897 from Yakima Valley to Minnesota on a bicycle wheel trip—3,000 miles. Afterward took many subs for the **American Guardian** in State of Washington. Now in my 88th year am getting pretty damn tired of the stupidity of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN staff who do not seem to have sense enough to know that capitalism is thiefism.

"Money is tight, but here is my renewal."

On the other hand Carl Waters wrote from Cedar Springs, Mich.:

"It seems to me that the tone and character of your articles would indicate that your whole program is an indictment of capitalism."

AND FINALLY, a note which said "Everything printed and sent out by the GUARDIAN is precious, even your requests for money."

So if we missed you with our letter (as we did if you are a newsstand reader, for example) why not write in and we'll send you a sample of what we wrote to evoke such a very nice commentary.

—THE GUARDIAN

DE GREGORY FREED IN BAIL PENDING APPEAL

A visit to Merrimack County Jail

The following report of a visit to New Hampshire's Merrimack County Jail was written before Hugo De Gregory was released in $1,500 bail on July 19 pending his appeal. He had been sentenced to a year for contempt. The State Supreme Court decision ordering his release has no bearing on the case of Dr. Willard Uphaus, who has already served more than seven months of a one-year sentence. De Gregory had no comment for reporters beyond saying that conditions in the jail are "deplorable."

By William A. Price
Special to the Guardian

BOSCAWEN, N.H.

DRIVING NORTH from Concord, a vacationing motorist skirts the crest of a gentle rise uphill from the Merrimack River. The farm country gives way suddenly to sweeping lawns on both sides of the two-lane highway. Beyond each lawn stands a red brick building of turn-of-the-century vintage. Sugar maples and tall elms shade the lawns. At each side of the road are small carefully kept gardens bright with white and pink petunias.

To the right downhill is a long rectangular structure, partly covered with ivy, with two rows of barred windows. There are two cupolas atop a high-peaked roof. This is the Merrimack County jail, Boscawen, N.H., (pop. 1,663).

There is no wall, nor even a fence, around this building. But inside, under conditions hardly distinguishable from solitary confinement, are two First Amendment defendants: Dr. Willard Uphaus, who has been there since Dec. 14, 1959, and Hugo De Gregory, who was imprisoned June 28, the fifth American to be jailed in recent months for resisting state or Congressional legislative committee witch-hunts.

FOCAL POINT: With the recent release of Lloyd Barenblatt, Dr. Chandler Davis and Paul Rosenkrantz from Federal prison, this small New Hampshire county jail now becomes a focal point of concern for civil libertarians.

The building housing the jail also contains the County House of Correction. Prisoners held here have the usual minimum privileges, outdoor recreation, a common recreation and dining room, and regular assigned duties at the hospital or on the county farm whose neat white-painted barns and outbuildings extend down the road from the jail.

A DIFFERENCE: But Dr. Uphaus and De Gregory live a different life. In the jail section of the same building, both occupy six-by-nine-foot cells, have access between 9 a.m. and 5:30 p.m. only to a narrow catwalk about 50 feet long in front of six identical cells. A deep well separates the catwalks from the outside wall of the building where there are heavy louvered prison windows through which they can dimly glimpse the outside world.

Their cell doors are locked each afternoon by a clanking chain which controls all the doors on the cell block. They and other prisoners must eat alone—or at best with another prisoner on the same cell block on a common shelf along the catwalk. Visiting privileges, once fairly liberal, are now restricted to an hour a week for each prisoner, during which time he can see four friends.

Prisoners here, most of them held only for a short time pending trial, are not permitted out of doors, nor the use of any indoor recreational facilities.

Dr. Uphaus has one break in his routine, a weekly trip across the highway to receive medical treatment for an old back ailment. Only at these times, Dr. Uphaus says, does he realize how stale and musty the prison air is inside.

VISITING DAY: These are the conditions along the highway beyond the petunias and the lawns and the ivy in the State of New Hampshire which has an article guaranteeing the right of conscience in its Constitution—and even one guaranteeing the right of revolution—and whose motto is "Live Free or Die."

This writer accompanied Mrs. Ola Uphaus to visit her husband recently and then also visited De Gregory. We talked to Willard—as so many others now also know him—behind upright bars and two thicknesses of quarter-inch wire mesh. Mrs. Uphaus, who this summer bears the responsibility for the World Fellowship Camp, 70 miles north at Conway, N.H., brought her husband two arm-loads of fresh vegetables and nuts, fruit and candy.

Willard sat behind the steel curtain in his prison blue denim dungarees. He looked well and his eyes have lost none of their sparkle.

Each had a list of priority things to talk about, including details about the camp, arrangements for speakers, news from their lawyers about a new Supreme Court appeal, hopeful plans for travel after Willard's release. They had a lot to crowd into a short half hour.

PRECISE TIMING: Then we heard the clatter of a gas-driven lawn mower outside the visiting room window. The noise made conversation virtually impossible. Willard's jaw tightened; the same thing had occurred previously precisely timed to the weekly visiting hours. But Ola leaned forward with her nose against the wire mesh and made a joke of the episode.

Willard is still moved by the volume of sympathetic mail he receives and the growing protest, especially among religious groups, against his imprisonment. He has received letters from every state, he says, and now arranges them alphabetically by states and wedges them between his cell bars. One side of his cell looks like a Post Office, he said.

Visitors see the prisoners in pairs and I joined a young Massachusetts minister to visit De Gregory. This was De Gregory's ninth day and he told us that during this time he had seen another human being for an average of five minutes each day when a guard brought him his meals.

LAW IN DISREPUTE: Later in the week Prof. Alexander Laing of Dartmouth College, one of the originators of the "Great Issues" course there, author and lay expert on New Hampshire law, spoke at the World Fellowship camp on "The Law in Disrepute, Who's Responsible?" Laing himself had once been invited to an informal conference by New Hampshire's Attorney General Louis C. Wyman, who is the state's one-man legislative investigating committee, and offered protection if he answered questions about the college and some of its faculty members.

Prof. Laing pointed out that Wyman had probably initiated New Hampshire's Subversive Control Act of 1951 which empowered him to act singlehandedly as a legislative committee. After performing the legislative function of investigating he could then as Attorney General prosecute an unfriendly witness and finally, upon his own motion, could get a court order to hold uncooperative witnesses such as Dr. Uphaus and De Gregory in jail.

"Attorney General Wyman is—and I choose my adjective carefully—an evil power in this state," Laing said.

JAIL KEEPER TOO? A little checking indicates that Wyman, besides being legislator, prosecutor, judge and jury, probably also performs the functions of jailer and is therefore also responsible for the intolerable conditions under which Dr. Uphaus and De Gregory are held.

We talked to James Treloar of Laconia, superintendent of the Boscawen jail. Treloar admitted that conditions at the jail "were a little more rugged" than in other prisons.

Treloar was asked why De Gregory and Dr. Uphaus were kept as far apart as possible on opposite sides of the jail. He said he was guided by regulations and that these two prisoners were separated "for the protection of the jail."

DR. WILLARD UPHAUS
Conditions are deplorable

NO PROBLEM: Treloar said both Dr. Uphaus and De Gregory were "very nice people" and "no problem whatsoever."

"If I turned both De Gregory and Uphaus outdoors at night," he said, "I'd have no concern about their being there in the morning."

But, Treloar said, he was guided by prison standards set by the New Hampshire legislature. Asked who enforces prison codes and who determines policy within the law, he answered: "Attorney General Wyman."

Treloar confirmed that Dr. Uphaus and De Gregory were held under the same conditions as "maximum security" prisoners.

Church group acts for Uphaus

THE NEW HAMPSHIRE Council of Churches is seeking the immediate release of Dr. Willard Uphaus. The Council's executive committee has petitioned New Hampshire authorities to grant clemency "at the earliest possible date," citing the prisoner's age (69) and character, and the fact that he has already served longer than others who have been imprisoned elsewhere under similar circumstances.

Dr. Uphaus on July 14 completed seven months of a one-year sentence. Power to release him resides in the committing judge, George R. Grant Jr., of the Superior Court of Merrimack County.

Action by the New Hampshire Council is the second expression of concern by an important New Hampshire religious body. The Methodists there, at their annual conference in May, dealt with the problem raised by Dr. Uphaus' refusal and its consequences and suggested that the consequences under the circumstances "should be moderated by charity."

TWO KIDNAPINGS COMPARED

U. S. criticized for double standard in cases of Sobell and Eichmann

COMPARISONS of the Eichmann kidnaping with the FBI-engineered kidnaping of Morton Sobell from Mexico in 1950 have appeared in the letters-to-the-editor columns of the New York **Times** and **Post** in recent weeks. The **Post** printed a letter from Helen Sobell, Morton's wife; the **Times** letter was signed by Marshall MacDuffie, former chief counsel to the Senate Committee on Constitutional Rights, and Herbert Monte Levy, former staff counsel of the American Civil Liberties Union.

MORTON SOBELL
No reparations for him

Mrs. Sobell's letter stated in part:

"In the Sobell case, the prosecution—after itself arranging the kidnaping—fraudulently used perjured testimony to prejudice the trial by introducing evidence saying the Mexican government had deported Morton Sobell. The prosecution not only failed to notify the defendant that charges had been filed against him but also deprived him of the opportunity to return voluntarily to face charges, of which he was totally unaware."

Noting elsewhere in her letter that "the Israeli government has no need to use the kidnaping itself to establish its case," Mrs. Sobell wrote that nevertheless it would "undoubtedly be raised as a major point in his legal defense."

"No violation of sovereignty of any country can be condoned," she stated.

OTHER ACTIONS: The MacDuffie-Levy letter to the **Times** said that the U.S., in siding with Argentina in the UN debate on the Eichmann kidnaping, "is now demanding of Israel a higher nobility than the U.S. Supreme Court's interpretation of our Constitution requires . . ." Citing the government's argument opposing Sobell's demands for a reversal of his conviction based on the kidnaping episode, the two lawyers conclude:

"Now we have the U.S. saying that it may participate in the kidnaping abroad of a Communist spy for trial here, but that Israel cannot seize—without adequate reparations—one of the greatest mass murderers in history."

Other recent developments on the Sobell case:

- The Conference of American Rabbis, a reform group meeting in Detroit in June, passed a resolution asking a Presidential review of the Sobell case.
- Ohio's largest union local, No. 867, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators & Paperhangers, has urged the President to "review again the facts in the Sobell case and take necessary action to secure ultimate justice."
- A similar resolution was passed in June by the 100,000-strong Minneapolis Central Labor Union Council.

At the Republican convention

(Continued from Page 1)

Presidential nomination open for a free vote at the convention is the eminent likelihood that the choice would fall upon Sen. Goldwater . . . .'

'DRAFT ROCKEFELLER': Although not taken as a serious threat to Nixon's nomination, "Draft Rockefeller" forces are very active. A "Rockefeller Center" has been set up at the Chicago Blackstone Theater. A special press room is functioning at the convention headquarters. The Governor has held endless press conferences, appeared before the platform committee, made numerous TV appearances and sponsored a dance to which 3,000 people including all convention delegates were invited.

Most troubling to party professionals, the National Draft Rockefeller Committee released the detailed results of a public opinion survey in five key states which "shows conclusively that Vice President Nixon cannot win the Presidential election." The poll, conducted in New York,

Wilmington (Del.) Suburban News

"Seventy percent of the country's families have two incomes today—what's so strange about my wife working?"

Pennsylvania, California, Illinois and Texas just after the Democratic convention, showed Sen. Kennedy favored 2 to 1 over Nixon.

Gov. Rockefeller appeared as a "liberal" Republican to most delegates because of his advocacy of social security medical care aid to the aged as in the Forand Bill, his demand for a strong civil rights stand, and his emphasis on Federal government responsibility and spending for education, housing and maintenance of economic growth. Rockefeller criticized the Eisenhower-Nixon conduct of foreign affairs and called, as Sen. Kennedy does, for spending $3 billion more on arms.

NIXON STRATEGY: Although Gov. Rockefeller has adamantly turned down the Vice Presidential candidacy, the main strategy of Nixon and other party leaders has been to line up a Nixon- Rockefeller ticket. This has led to great constraint in meeting Rockefeller's attacks and a real effort to adjust the platform to attract the New York Governor. The Kennedy-Johnson ticket is viewed as formidable by the Republicans who believe they need the liberal tinge that Rockefeller would give their ticket. And it is recognized that the election may turn on the 45 electoral votes of New York and this gives Rockefeller great power and attractiveness.

The Republican Platform Committee hearings were cursory except for the division on the civil rights plank. For two days, July 20 and 21, eight subcommittees of the 103-member committee held simultaneous public hearings. As at the Los Angeles sessions, representatives of major organizations came to make their special pitch to the Republicans.

Roy Wilkins, chairman of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights and exec. secy. of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, challenged the Republicans to match the Democrats' strong civil rights plank. He said: "A sturdy yardstick has been handed across from Los Angeles. Surely . . . the Republican Party will not miss this opportunity to make plain its commitments."

CIVIL RIGHTS RALLY: The NAACP held a "Pre-Republican Convention Civil Rights Rally" Sunday afternoon. Vice President Nixon was represented by Pennsylvania Sen. Hugh Scott. Other speakers were Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president, and Clarence Mitchell, director of the NAACP Washington Bureau.

The rally was attended by 2,500 people inside and 3,000 outside the Liberty Baptist Church. Gov. Rockefeller led the roster of speakers. He said that he and Vice President Nixon were in full accord on civil rights, and then outlined proposals for guaranteeing Negroes the right to vote, "aggressive action to end discrimination in schools," equal job opportunities, National Labor Relations Board action against unions that discriminate in membership, "freedom to live where his heart desires and his means permit," and equal opportunity of public employment and access to public facilities.

Rockefeller challenged the Democrats, with their control of Congress, to put their civil rights plank into effect when Congress reconvenes next month. He added his support to a suggestion of Roy Wilkins by saying that "by cooperation of the right-minded members of both the Republican and Democratic parties we can get civil rights action from Congress."

KENNEDY RECORD HIT: Clarence Mitchell charged that the "heartless cynical attitude" of lawmakers outside the South, especially in the Middle West, was responsible for many civil rights defeats in Congress. He warned that Negroes had as much trouble in the Senate on civil rights matters with the Republican leader Everett M. Dirksen (Ill.) as they did with Democratic leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas.

Sen. Scott blasted Democratic Presidential nominee Sen. John Kennedy for having a bad record on civil rights legislation. He charged that "months ago Kennedy made an alliance with Sen. Johnson" to weaken the Civil Rights Act of 1960. Sen. Scott said the "strong Democratic civil rights plank" contains many items Kennedy and Johnson have voted against and that he will consequently ask them if they will change their votes accordingly when the Senate reconvenes on August 8.

PORTRAIT OF A MAN PRACTICING TO BE PRESIDENT
Richard Nixon strikes a working pose on the eve of the convention

THE CHALLENGE: Sen. Jacob K. Javits (N.Y.) told the NAACP rally: "Our party cannot accept the advice of those who would have us bid for Southern votes through lukewarm support of specific Federal civil rights legislation. Civil rights legislation must be bi-partisan to pass, but it can only get the needed votes if backed by the support of a substantial majority of Republicans in Congress. An explicit and full platform declaration is a necessary basis for this result."

Sen. Kenneth Keating (N.Y.) challenged the Democrats: "I intend when Congress comes back into special session in August to test the Democratic platform in the Democratic Congress by inserting a 'be it enacted clause' in front of their pledges . . ."

"The March on the Conventions Movement for Freedom Now," led by A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King, prepared to repeat its Los Angeles action by organizing a mass picket line around the Republican convention. A token picket line will be maintained around the clock until the convention adjourns.

Unionists and Villagers join march to UN against the bomb

SEVEN UNION LEADERS have pledged their support to the peace parade organized by the New York Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy for Saturday, Aug. 6, to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the atom-bombing of Hiroshima. The unionists, including Morris Iushewitz, secretary of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council (AFL-CIO) and Anthony Mazzochi president of Local 149 of the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers, have been joined by religious, education and civic leaders and organizations.

The parade will be joined by a contingent from Greenwich Village, which will march up Fifth Avenue on its way to the United Nations. The Villagers will be accompanied by floats and folk-singers to dramatize the need for an adequate disarmament policy. The Villagers will meet the main body of marchers in Bryant Park in Manhattan at 3:15 p.m.

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SEE PAGE 12

RESORTS

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DETROIT LEADER URGES MORE REPRESENTATION

The goal: A Negro in Congress for every Negro majority district

By Ramona Lowe

THE FIRST NEGRO ever elected to Michigan's State Senate is making a demand for Negro representation from every Congressional District with a Negro majority. He is Charles Diggs Sr., former Democratic State Senator and father of Detroit's first Negro Congressman. Diggs has called for three Negro Congressmen from areas predominantly Negro in Detroit. New York, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago and Philadelphia should also have more Negroes in Congress, he thinks.

A similar move for New York City has already been started by the Leadership Conference called by Rep. Adam Clayton Powell. This group is also demanding more representation on all levels.

At present, although Negroes form the largest potential voting bloc in most of the North's major cities, there are only four Negro Congressmen. (Diggs sets 14 as the minimum goal for the country.) Gerrymandering, political maneuvering and bargaining are largely responsible, as well as frequently successful attempts to convince the Negro that any demand for self-representation is nationalistic, racist or just plain discriminating and therefore undemocratic.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL
New lines must be drawn

POWER STRUGGLES: Although the Negro is never included on a "balanced" slate—the group representation considered essential for a successful ticket—the importance of the Negro vote is never underestimated. It often serves as the winning support for a candidate who speaks loudly for civil rights, and it frequently plays an important role in political power struggles. The election of Manhattan Borough President Hulan Jack was the result of such a struggle.

It is now possible, because of population shifts, that the Manhattan Borough President's job may remain a so-called "Negro" job. Negroes believe the court case against Jack is an attempt to discredit a Negro in the job so that it will revert to whites or in some way be whittled into a position less important.

PRIME TARGETS: Sore spots with New York's Negro voters are Brooklyn and the Bronx where there are overwhelming Negro majorities in some sections, yet no Negro representation. These areas will be prime targets in the political fights of the next decade.

It was not possible to elect Adam Clayton Powell, New York's lone Negro Representative, until a Congressional District was carved out for the specific purpose of electing a Negro.

When a bill for a Negro district was first introduced in the New York State Legislature, Al Smith, then Governor, vetoed it as class legislation. It was brought to the floor again during Gov. Lehman's administration and met the same fate. Not until the Republican administration of Dewey were new lines drawn for a Congressional District that included as many Negroes as possible.

THE ONLY WAY: Negro voters are always told they cannot be favored as a racial unit, yet it has been proven that this is the only way they can have any guarantee of representation. Diggs is arguing this point in Detroit where there are 620,000 Negroes. In the First Congressional District, represented by Thaddeus M. Machrowicz, Diggs announced his support for Russell Brown, a Negro. Machrowicz immediately claimed that a man should be chosen for office on the basis of his qualifications, not his race, creed, nationality or color. Diggs replied simply that the Negro people feel a Negro in Congress can do a better job on Negro rights.

Pious, Carolina Times
On the march and no force can stop her

The outlook in other cities is not so hopeful. Los Angeles, with a Negro population of 400,000, has been trying futilely since 1948 to elect a Negro Congressman. Rep. James Roosevelt represents a district largely Negro.

Newark, N.J., with a population one-third Negro, has elected a Negro City Councilman and two Negro State Assemblymen, but the Congressional Districts are gerrymandered in such a way that it is almost impossible to get a Negro Congressman elected. Their only chance for Congressional representation will be through lobbying effectively in the state legislature for new district boundaries.

This same sort of pressure will have to be exercised in other large cities if the reapportionment due because of the 1960 census is not going to scatter votes from the Negro ghettos into every other group's corner.

NEGRO UNIONIST

Coleman A. Young runs for Detroit Common Council

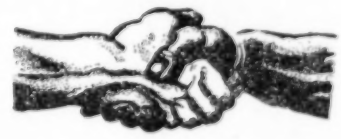
Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

COLEMAN A. YOUNG, Negro trade union leader and an organizer of the Progressive Party in 1948, has declared his candidacy for the Detroit Common Council. The election is Aug. 2.

A former secretary of the Detroit CIO Council, Young has the backing of leaders of the big Ford Local 600 of the United Auto Workers. Of 42 candidates for the council, he is the only one whose program contains planks dealing with peace and full employment, the exposure of police brutality, adequate taxation of the rich, and an end to widespread discrimination against Negro and working class children by the Detroit Board of Education.

COMMITTEES URGED: A prominent Detroit clergyman, Rev. Charles A. Hill, has endorsed Young's candidacy. Rev. Hill said: "You have in the candidacy of



Coleman Young a man who will speak out on issues like what a peacetime program could do to bring jobs to our city that has 150,000 jobless. He will lay bare the lawlessness of the Detroit police department whose brutality toward Negro and labor is notorious. He will oppose payroll taxes and advocate taxes based on ability to pay, which is just taxation. I urge that Committees for Coleman Young be set up in order that a great grass roots vote can be gotten out for him."

The Congo crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

and the Intl. Red Cross were steadily sending trained personnel, and food and medicine were being airlifted by British, U.S., Soviet and Ethiopian planes. Nevertheless, he added that he would need "much, much more" civilian and military aid from UN members.

TWO VIEWS: In a restrained and even conciliatory address, Congo's delegate Thomas Kanza said there had been atrocities on both sides and urged constructive action to restore peace. He asked for withdrawal of Belgian troops and UN refusal to recognize the secession and independence of Katanga. He solicited technical assistance from all nations and especially from Belgium because of Belgian investments.

Belgian representative Pierre Wigny replied with a bitter denunciation of alleged assault and rape of Belgian women by the Congolese when Belgians had spent 80 years in the Congo "in order to improve it, lead it to the level of a civilized nation" and then granted independence "in a gesture of generosity." He said that Belgian troops were in the Congo solely to protect the "honor" of its citizens. He ignored the issue of troop withdrawal.

Kanza refused to be drawn into an altercation, but noted in a brief rebuttal that atrocities committed on the Congolese—both recently and in the last 80 years—were as deplorable as those committed on the Belgians. He said the Congolese earned freedom through their own bloody struggle and not through Belgian "generosity," and if their administration was not very efficient, it was because Belgian rule had blocked their progress.

TIME LIMIT OPPOSED: During the UN debate, Britain, France and Italy harped on the plight of Europeans in the Congo and, together with the U.S., opposed the Soviet and Polish proposal for withdrawal of Belgian troops in three days.

Poland's Bohdan Lewandowski said that Wigny's attribution of Belgian troop intervention to a desire to protect the lives of Europeans would have been more appropriate at a segregationist meeting, since it was "unacceptable" to differentiate between human beings on the basis of racial origin or color. Soviet First Deputy Foreign Minister Vasily Kuznetsov urged the Council to call for immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops in the interest "of peace and security."

Tunisian delegate Mongi Slim said that "we deplore and sincerely regret" atrocities against Belgians, "but these facts have not been verified by an impartial body" and Belgium's "honest" and "legitimate" concern for its nationals "cannot justify the sending of Belgian troops to the Republic of Congo against the will of the government."

UNANIMOUS VOTE: Slim presented a Ceylonese-Tunisian resolution calling for (1) speedy withdrawal of Belgian troops; (2) maintenance of Congo's territorial and political integrity; (3) greater assistance by UN specialized agencies, and (4) a progress report by Hammarskjold. The resolution was adopted unanimously on July 21. On July 24, Lumumba arrived in the U.S. in quest of technical assistance. He thanked the Security Council "for its resolutions."

At GUARDIAN press time, the Security Council was still debating a Soviet resolution asking the Council to condemn "provocative actions by the U.S. Air Force."

The Congo conflict was being used by white supremacist governments of colonies still remaining in Africa to deny freedom to the Africans. They argued that the Congolese's failure to learn to govern themselves even under "paternalistic" Belgian rule demonstrated the Africans' inability to rule themselves and behave like civilized people. The Southern Rhodesian government has already used this excuse to arrest three top African leaders, precipitating police conflict with 20,000 African demonstrators and 100,000 African workers on strike.

Africans considered the argument spurious. They noted that Belgian rule had been ruthless, bloody and stifling, and punctuated by rebellions, behind a sleekly executed propaganda of "paternalism." Homer Bigart reported (New York **Times**, June 26) that the "Belgians tried to insulate the Congolese from the winds of change by refusing them exit permits" and that "after 84 years of tutelage . . . only 16 Congolese are University graduates [and] the Congo has not even one Negro doctor, or lawyer or engineer."

NO RETURN: It was not surprising that the Lumumba-Kasavubu government of the Congo, which came to power as a result of last year's violent uprisings, found itself in difficulties at its inception. But they had the good sense to ask immediately for personnel assistance from such UN agencies as the World Health Organization and from African states that had become independent earlier.

The contrasting behavior of the Belgian troops and African members of the UN forces in the Congo indicated the futility of trying to stem the tide of freedom in Africa. The Associated Press (July 19) quoted a Belgian soldier as saying: "The UN forces are a joke. They are also black." But a Moroccan captain said: "You cannot stop the course of history." And a Moroccan lieutenant added: "Some colonial powers are incredible. Why can't they leave their colonies gracefully like friends?"

Portugal clamps down in Africa

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

WHILE OTHER EUROPEAN POWERS recognize the African peoples' right to self-determination, Portugal is intensifying repression in Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea. Arrests in Angola during June (according to the Goa League, Portuguese colonial freedom group) included 52 Benguela Railway employes, the Luanda physician-poet Agostinho Neto, and the Rev. Joachim Pinto de Andrade, chancellor of Luanda archdiocese and the only African doctor of theology in the country, who was taken under escort to Lisbon.

"Native quarters" are closely guarded by police armed with machine guns, the Goa League reports, and all radios suspected of being tuned to Brazzaville or Leopoldville are systematically destroyed. Constant raids and arbitrary arrests by the political police have created "a veritable reign of terror." Heavy troop reinforcements are still arriving from Portugal, and the London **Times** reports the imminent arrival of 20,000 more. The trial of 56 Angolese for acts against "the external security of the state and the unity of the Portuguese nation" continues behind closed doors before a military tribunal.

BOOKS

An investigation of 'freedom'

POLITICIANS keep the word "freedom" always on display. Business men mention it in connection with money-making. Religious enthusiasts favor it for themselves, but are shy of providing it for their opponents. Intellectuals talk it, eat it, drink it, bathe in it. Since John Stuart Mill's essay **On Liberty** was published 101 years ago, freedom has been a chief theme for authors and publishers. Here are some current outcroppings:

Prefaces to Liberty,* edited by Bernard Wishy, collects between

new covers Mill's over-valued essay **On Freedom**, together with excerpts from Mill's letters, speeches and articles dealing with civil liberties.

The Limits of Freedom** contains the substance of three lectures which David Fellman delivered at Puget Sound College: Religious Freedom in America; The Right to Communicate, and The Right to Talk Politics. Like all such officially sponsored lectures, they presuppose "the primacy of civil liberties in the constellation of human interests." More ardently, and with less discrimination than John Stuart Mill, David Fellman presents "an exposition and defense of the basic freedoms without which life for us would not be worth living."

Herbert J. Muller, in **Issues of Freedom,***** approaches the problems associated with freedom not as an advocate but as an analyst. Muller considers freedom "in relation to culture as a whole, not merely to the state." "My main concern," he writes, "has been the basic, not the immediate, issues of freedom, and my main purpose an objective analysis, not a prescription or a call to arms." Such a scientific approach, the author believes, has been made possible by "the vast deal of research in history, sociology and anthropology undertaken and published during the present century."

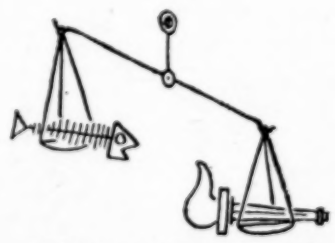
DURING my many years of study in this field, Muller's approach is the most scientific and practical that I have seen. After paying his respects to the many meanings attached to "freedom," Prof. Muller offers his own definition: "Freedom in this work will mean 'the condition of being able to choose and to carry out purposes.' This definition has three immediate implications: (1) the primary dictionary meaning—the absence of external constraints; (2) practicable purposes, or an actual ability with available means; and (3) a power of conscious choice, between significant, known alternatives . . . A man is free in so far as he can do something or choose not to do it, can make up his own mind, can say yes or no to any given question or command . . . He is not free in so far as he is prohibited from following his inclinations or is obliged to do something against his own volition . . . . All these statements must, of course, be qualified. Man is always constrained by physical necessities, subject to natural law, and as he lives with his fellows he must always submit to further social constraints."

MULLER recognizes the difficulty of making a dictionary definition that will cover the complex situations arising out of "the tangle of variable, immeasurable factors that make it impossible to specify with precision the kinds and degrees of freedom." Consequently, "the different kinds of freedom desired by different men and the need of accommodating and adjusting these different desires" make freedom not a specific reality, but an evolving concept. Men who claim the right to freedom "become more deeply indebted to many other men, living and dead . . . The very growth of freedom forces the question of what is right and good . . . No student of freedom can ignore these questions. . . . He is obliged to consider its relation to such social needs as order and security."

"For a historian," Prof. Muller concludes, "the most important freedom is circumstantial. It forces attention to the whole culture by which the self is molded, and thought about freedom is conditioned."

Summarizing, the author suggests that "the noble ideal of freedom involves the possible ignoble idea of doing as one pleases, the irresponsible idea of doing things just for fun. As the old ex-slave said, he liked freedom because 'there's a kind of looseness about it.'"

PROF. MULLER'S epilogue assumes that the present prospects of freedom are uncertain because mankind now has the power necessary "to end the history of our civilization." The most obvious reason for uncertainty "arises from the revolutionary forces of science and technology, which have at once given us an unprecedented power and drastically limited our freedom of choice in futures. We are bound to the conditions of an industrial order."



Muller continues: "Immediately, the most dynamic political force in the world today is, of course, Communism. . . . America, on the other hand, has become a world symbol of conservatism. While conserving rather half-heartedly the ideals of democracy, it has been more devoted to business as usual, and to high standards of aimless or irresponsible living. . . . In the nation's capitol, an earnest recital of moral platitudes still passes for an effort at serious thought." In our Western tradition "men refused to attribute their discontents to 'defective human nature.' Instead they traced them to a defective social order and they then set about to make over that order."

From such a brave beginning —objective, clear, logical, scientific—the author at the end of his epilogue descends to sentimental clap-trap. "The apparent restiveness in the Communist world also suggests the most obvious source of hope—the whole Western tradition of freedom and individualism. . . . If we have any hope for a free society, we are obliged to assume its logical and moral responsibilities. . . . Democracy grew up in this audacious heresy, and could not have grown without it."

—Scott Nearing

**PREFACES TO LIBERTY: Selected Writings of John Stuart Mill, edited by Bernard Wishy. Beacon Press. Boston. 367 pp. $3.95.*

***THE LIMITS OF FREEDOM, by David Fellman. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J. 144 pp. $2.75.*

****ISSUES OF FREEDOM, by Herbert J. Muller. Harper & Bros., New York. 170 pp. $3.50.*

LIPPINCOTT'S PRIZE NOVEL

A trick of happy endings

SOMEWHERE in Marjorie Fischer—this year's Lippincott prize winner—lurks the shy belief that all's well that ends well. This conviction, rare in present-day novelists, must overcome the suspicion of many readers that nothing can turn out quite so well as it does in her novel, **Mrs. Sherman's Summer.***

Mrs. Sherman is a strong-willed German Jewish lady of 71, mother of one disagreeable son, Joe, who is a member of the Stock Exchange, and of eight other male and female children more or less directly dependent upon him for either employment, loans, or pleasure. Most of these, and a few grandchildren, are in summer residence at her Long Island home; two are shown enjoying life in Europe.

ONE NEED NOT, in fact should not, be a moralist to describe the central relationship —that of his brothers and sisters to broker Joe—as parasitic. It is so in the one way that counts in such situations: in the matter of money. To sweeten this unpleasant truth requires all Mrs. Fischer's resources of optimism and the considerable charm of the family. We should at least be sorry for those of them who are not attractive.

Lastly, a moral victory must be gained over the boor, Joe. That task is left to the old lady, who also manages to keep her favorite son in a job he hates by encouraging him in his hobby of restoring Persian miniatures. One may even hope that her prettiest daughter will break down the hateful bars of the local Hunt Club by marrying the mildly anti-Semitic stuffed shirt who had taken her there for tea.

THESE happy endings are a neat trick if you can swallow them. They are achieved by carrying no scene to its inherent climax and no implication to its conclusion. At times Mrs. Fischer's "drawing" reminds one of Katherine Mansfield, though her line is too thin. But to say, as does Clifton Fadiman in the Book of the Month Club News, that she recalls Jane Austin is only to point up the gap between the art of the novel and that of the vignette.

—C.H.

**MRS. SHERMAN'S SUMMER, by Marjorie Fischer. J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia and New York. 254 pp. $3.95.*

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'Zoo Story' at Chaits

THE NATIONAL company of the off-Broadway prize-winning play, "Zoo Story," will perform at Chaits Hotel, Accord, N.Y., Saturday, July 30.

THE GALLERY

THE REPUBLICANS, fighting shy of the Madison Avenue stigma for 1960, are setting up their own agency to be known as Campaign Associates. It will be run by Ted Rogers, the man who masterminded Nixon's broadcast with Checkers in 1952, and (wouldn't you know) a man from Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, the Batten, Barton, Martin & Fish of FDR's satire. Agency men will be lent for the duration. Whether they, or anybody else, will be paid depends on whether the press, TV, etc., will pay 15% agency fees to a party campaign agency . . . The London **Daily Mail** reminds its readers that Nixon is "no chicken in politics—some say rather a hawk or a vulture"—and predicts the campaign will be "a mighty uncivil business." Kennedy is "the more amiable and, perhaps, the less able." The **Mail** hopes for the best: "Eight years ago the same soul-searching produced Dwight Eisenhower for the White House. We can't afford a repeat performance of that." . . . In a letter to the London **Times** S. de Madariaga says the American President is fast becoming president of a world community struggling to become a Commonwealth, and likens this world of nations to "a coach full of passengers traveling fast along a narrow road rich in hair-pin bends, driven by a man who every four miles undergoes a delirious blackout lasting for half a mile." He asks Americans to amend the Constitution to eliminate a six-month lapse in leadership every four years.

Wiseman, Wall Street Journal
"That was an inspiration of yours, dear, to turn off the convention!"

A WARM HOMECOMING greeted Dr. H. Chandler Davis June 29 at the Union Station in Providence, R.I., after spending five months in Danbury Federal Penitentiary for contempt of the House Un-American Activities Committee. A professor from Brown University led a reception committee of about 50 people. To his greeters, Davis, deeply tanned from working on the prison farm, said: "I represent a failure of modern penology. They turn out most of their inmates completely reformed. But nobody's perfect and they've muffed my case. I'm still doing my own thinking." Davis is associate editor of the journal of the American Mathematical Society. He was imprisoned for refusing in 1954, while an instructor at the University of Michigan, to answer Committee questions about associations during his undergraduate years at Harvard in the 1940's. His wife, an instructor at Brown, and his children, a son 7 and a daughter 2½, were permitted to visit him every two weeks while he was in Danbury. When the family was united back home at last, Mrs. Davis explained to the little girl that her father would be "home sitting in his own chair every night" from then on. The little girl understood perfectly: "The guard won't take him away any more," she said . . . . Back at Michigan, the Chinese student who hid out in a church for four years because he thought he was a failing student, has completed the first year of his resumed University career with a B average except for a flunk in French. He is a history major . . . . Stephen Bayne, the Long Island honor student who refused an American Legion award at his high school graduation, as of July 6 had received more than 1,700 letters wishing him well. In reply he has written that the experience "has made me realize how wonderful are the people of our country." . . . . Matt Cvetic, FBI informer now lecturing on juvenile delinquency, told a Pasadena audience that a science of subversion which he calls psycho-politics "has invaded our movies, schools, churches and every section of American society." He blames the Communists.

LOS ANGELES Parson Franklin Loehr, author of **The Power of Prayer on Plants** (and a chaplain at the 1948 Republican Convention) says prayed-for plants, or those in happy homes within earshot of lots of gay chatter, grow up to be much healthier specimens than those in orphan-like surroundings.

—John T. McManus

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

Friendly exchanges go on

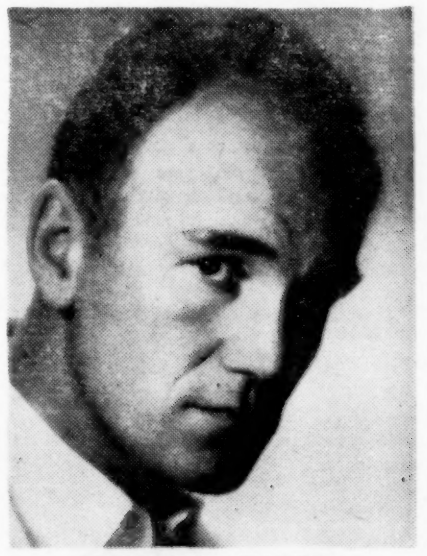
MOSCOW

EVENING PAPERS here recently carried a front-page item about a couple of hundred American tourists, part of a holiday cruise who had just arrived for a quick look at Moscow before rejoining their ship at Leningrad. Nothing much in the way of news but a significantly friendly gesture to show that, despite all the hard words over spy planes and those who defend them, the Soviet Union is still for peace, friendship and coexistence. Normally the arrival of tourists from any country is never reported in the daily press.

Last month, American singer Roberta Peters gave the last of her concerts in Leningrad. She could only give four encores, because she was catching a midnight train. She took her last bows in her traveling clothes—and left for the railway station with 300 of the audience escorting her and waving good-bye as the train pulled out. Leningraders or Muscovites or Ukrainians did not associate Roberta Peters with spy-plane champions or those who put American H-bombers in the air on a round-the-clock basis. While Roberta Peters was giving her final performance in Leningrad, Van Cliburn was giving his first in Moscow to a rapturously applauding audience. [On July 19 20,000 Russians jammed the Lenin Sports Palace in Moscow to give Cliburn a wild ovation. A thousand teen-age girls threw bouquets to him after his first piece. When he finished, his curtain calls lasted a half hour.]

As for Isaac Stern, the American violinist, **Sovietskaya Kultura,** official organ of the Ministry of Culture, has written of him that "the warm reception and cordial ovations tendered to this musician by our audiences speak for the delight which they derived from his inspired mastery."

THESE SUCCESSES of American musicians, the spontaneous warmth with which they have been received during the stormiest days of the political crisis in Soviet-American relations, speak for themselves. Despite the hard feelings—and they are very hard indeed—toward those responsible for spy-plane policies, there is still nothing but the friendliest of feelings toward Americans as such. The group of GUARDIAN readers who recently toured the Soviet Union can testify to that. They were amazed at the complete lack of any attempt towards identifying ordinary Americans with such policies, arriving as they did in the thick of the storm.



SVIATOSLAV RICHTER

The general atmosphere could not better be illustrated than by the experience of the New York impresario, Sol Hurok, who arrived here recently to sign up new exchanges of Soviet - American artists and ensembles. The State Department, it is true, had given him the go-ahead to sign contracts as if nothing had happened. Of the Soviet attitude, he was not at all certain. But he was received by the new Minister of Culture, Madame Ekaterina Furtseva who happens also to be a member of the Communist Party, within 48 hours of arrival and assured full cooperation. And Madame Furtseva stressed Soviet interest in having as many American artists in the Soviet Union as possible.

As a result of all this, Hurok has bagged pianist Sviatoslav Richter—a rare prize indeed. He will give at least 25 concerts, starting the end of October in New York, and will stay two or three months. Richter, who is 45 and usually regarded as the most brilliant Soviet pianist, is at the very top of his form at the moment and has been receiving almost ecstatic praise in the Soviet press.

Hurok has also lined up the Moiseyev dancers again and in return the Soviet public may see the American Ballet Theater or some other ballet group. A certainty is the young American pianist Byron Janis, and the Russians are interested in many more solo artists and ensembles. Within a few hours of the Richter visit being announced in the New York **Times,** Richter received a cabled invitation from Eugene Ormandy to play with the Philadelphia Symphony.

ON ANOTHER more mundane question, Khrushchev has repeated that Soviet policy is not only for peace, friendship and coexistence as usual, but for more and more consumer goods as well.

At the moment British, American and German firms are competing for about $100,000,000 worth of contracts in newsprint, paper and cardboard plants alone. Not only is there no sign of cutting down on this consumer goods spending but every sign that it is being expanded.

The Russians, from Khrushchev down, have got their teeth firmly fixed into a better-life program and—short of some maniac actually pushing the button, which no one seems to believe in here—they are going ahead with it. Let others do what they may.

—W. G. Burchett